

Message Text

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E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PFOR, PGOV, PINT, ES, US
SUBJECT: TEXT OF AMBASSADOR'S APRIL 21 SPEECH TO AMERICAN SOCIETY

REF: LOZANO-LUBENSKY APRIL 18 TELCON

1. THE FOLLOWING IS THE PROPOSED TEXT OF A SPEECH THE
AMBASSADOR PLANS TO DELIVER TO THE AMERICAN SOCIETY ON
APRIL 21, IT WILL BE DELIVERED IN ENGLISH, WITH
SPANISH VERSION AVAILABLE. THE AUDIENCE WILL BE
PRIMARILY, BUT NOT EXCLUSIVELY, AMCITS RESIDENT IN
EL SALVADOR.

2. IF THE DEPARTMENT HAS COMMENTS, OR OBJECTIONS, WE
WOULD APPRECIATE THEM BY COB APRIL 20.

3. QUOTE

AN AMBASSADOR, AND BY EXTENSION THE EMBASSY HE HEADS,
DOESN'T WORK IN ISOLATION. FOR BETTER OR WORSE, WHAT
WE DO, AND HOW, CAN HAVE CONSIDERABLE EFFECT, NOT
ONLY ON THE STATE OF RELATIONS BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES,
BUT ALSO ON THE QUALITY OF LIFE AND PSYCHOLOGICAL
WELL-BEING OF THE RESIDENT AMERICAN COMMUNITY. I
THEREFORE WELCOME THIS OPPORTUNITY TO TALK TO THE
AMERICAN SOCIETY, REPRESENTING AS YOU DO THE MAJORITY
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OF NORTH AMERICANS LIVING AND WORKING IN EL SALVADOR.
AS A JOURNALIST BY TRADE, I BELIEVE DEEPLY IN THE
PROCESS BY WHICH INFORMATION, IDEAS AND OPINIONS
FLOW AS FREELY AS POSSIBLE. AS A DIPLOMAT SOMEWHAT
BY ACCIDENT, I ALSO SUBSCRIBE TO THAT BELIEF. THE
QUICKEST AND MOST DIRECT WAY TO LET THE AMERICAN
COMMUNITY KNOW WHAT WE IN THE EMBASSY ARE DOING, AND

GET FEEDBACK AND COMMENT, IS TO GET TOGETHER AS WE
ARE TODAY.

I HAVE BEEN ASKED TO ADDRESS MY REMARKS TO THE
CURRENT STATE OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE
COUNTRY I REPRESENT, THE UNITED STATES, AND THE
COUNTRY TO WHICH I AM ACCREDITED, EL SALVADOR.

THIS IS AN IMPORTANT TOPIC, ONE OF PARTICULAR
INTEREST AT THIS MOMENT IN THE LIFE OF OUR TWO
NATIONS. I BELIEVE THIS FOR A NUMBER OF REASONS
LET ME MENTION ONE OR TWO.

THE FIRST DERIVES FROM THE FACT THAT BOTH NATIONS
ARE IN THE PROCESS OF PASSING THE BATON OF LEADERSHIP
FROM ONE GENERATION OF DECISION MAKERS TO THE NEXT.
IN THE UNITED STATES, THE INAUGURATION OF LAST
JANUARY MARKED THE BEGINNING OF A NEW ADMINISTRATION, A NEW
PARTY IN POWER. IF HISTORY AND THE EVIDENCE OF ITS FIRST MONTHS
IN OFFICE ARE ANY INDICATION, THIS ADMINISTRATION WILL STRIKE
OUT IN NEW DIRECTIONS, OR AT A MINIMUM MAKE ADJUSTMENTS
AND CORRECTIONS IN THE MANNER OF PURSUING THE OLD ONES.
THE EFFORT THAT BEGAN ON JANUARY 20 CONTINUES IN
PROGRESS. PRESIDENT CARTER AND THOSE HE HAS SELECTED
TO WORK WITH HIM ARE JUST BEGINNING TO FORMULATE,
DESIGN AND IMPLEMENT THE POLICY OBJECTIVES AND
PRIORITIES OF HIS ADMINISTRATION.

WELL BEFORE THE CARTER TEAM
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IS FULLY SETTLED IN
OFFICE, A SIMILAR PROCESS WILL BEGIN IN EL SALVADOR.
ON JULY 1 A NEW PRESIDENT AND ADMINISTRATION WILL
TAKE OFFICE. THEY WILL IMMEDIATELY BEGIN THE TASK
THE CARTER GOVERNMENT IS NOW INVOLVED IN - DECIDING ON
GOALS, OBJECTIVES, THEIR PRIORITIES, AND IDENTIFYING
THE PEOPLE WHO WILL IMPLEMENT THESE DECISIONS.

THE REASON I BELIEVE THIS IS AN IMPORTANT MOMENT
THEN DERIVES FROM THIS SIMULTANEOUS CHANGE IN

GOVERNMENTS. INEVITABLY, THE POINT IN TIME WHEN
A NATION'S GOVERNMENT CHANGES HANDS IS A MOMENT OF
RENEWAL, OF FRESH HOPE AND PROMISE. IT IS ALSO A
MOMENT FRAUGHT WITH RISK. AT THE LEAST, IT MEANS
THAT THE NATION'S RELATIONSHIPS WITH OTHERS WILL BE
SUBJECTED TO REEXAMINATION, IF ONLY BECAUSE NEW
PEOPLE, WITH NEW IDEAS, WILL BE DEALING WITH THE
COUNTRY'S FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

A TRANSITION PERIOD IS ALSO PERILOUS BECAUSE IT IS
A TIME OF CONFUSION. DIFFERENT PEOPLE SEEKING ORIGINAL
SOLUTIONS CAN RESULT IN INITIAL CHAOS, MIXED AND MIS-
UNDERSTOOD SIGNALS, A PERIOD IN WHICH THE OLD SYSTEM
IS CLOGGED BY A FLOOD OF NEW DEMANDS, ADVICE AND
SUGGESTIONS - IN SHORT, A TIME WHEN MISUNDERSTANDING
FLOURISHES. IT IS THEREFORE A TIME WHICH DEMANDS
CAUTION, A TIME WHEN RELATIVELY UNIMPORTANT MATTERS
HAVE A WAY OF BEING BLOWN INTO "CRISES" AND, UNFOR-
TUNATELY, WHEN TRULY IMPORTANT MATTERS CAN BE SOMEHOW
IGNORED OR FORGOTTEN.

A SECOND REASON I AM GLAD TO TALK TO THIS AUDIENCE
TODAY FLOWS FROM THE FIRST. THE CHANGE IN OUR
GOVERNMENT, AND THE PENDING CHANGE HERE, HAVE PRODUCED
A GOOD DEAL OF APPREHENSION AND MISINFORMATION ABOUT
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WHAT IS TAKING PLACE. I AM SURE YOU ARE AWARE OF
THE SPECULATION, THE MANY QUESTIONS THAT ARE GOING
AROUND. PEOPLE ARE ASKING THEMSELVES IF SOMETHING HAS
GONE WRONG. TAKING THAT ONE STEP FURTHER, THEY ARE
WONDERING IF WHAT SEEMS DIFFERENT IS A FUNCTION OF
THERE BEING A NEW GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON, OR OF
AMBASSADOR LOZANO BEING DIFFERENT FROM AMBASSADOR
CAMPBELL, OR WHAT. PEOPLE HAVE MENTIONED THAT THEY
DON'T UNDERSTAND WHY THE VARIOUS VERSIONS OF WHAT'S
HAPPENING, INCLUDING THOSE IN THE NEWSPAPERS, SEEM
SO CONTRADICTORY. OTHERS ASK WHY, ALL OF A SUDDEN,
THERE APPEARS TO BE NO END TO NEWS OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

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THESE ARE SOME OF THE QUESTIONS I HOPE I CAN ANSWER TODAY. I WOULD LIKE TO DO WHAT I CAN TO DEFLECT THE "CONFUSION OF TRANSITION" PREVIOUSLY MENTIONED. I WILL TRY TO ALLEVIATE ANY APPREHENSION YOU MIGHT HARBOR. I WANT TO ASSURE MYSELF THAT THE AMERICAN COMMUNITY - AT LEAST - UNDERSTANDS WHAT ITS AMBASSADOR, ITS EMBASSY, AND ITS GOVERNMENT ARE DOING, AND SAYING, IN ITS BEHALF.

LET ME NOW TURN TO WHAT I PERCEIVE IS THE PRESENT STATE OF THE BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP. BEFORE GETTING TO SPECIFICS, I WOULD LIKE TO SET THE STAGE WITH A WORD OR TWO ON THE MORE GENERAL TOPIC OF HOW ONE MIGHT JUDGE THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ANY TWO COUNTRIES. I THINK IT IS EXTREMELY IMPORTANT TO KEEP IN MIND THAT WHAT I WILL BE DESCRIBING IS A THIN SLICE, A SINGLE MOMENT IN TIME, IN WHAT IS A BROAD, COMPLEX SERIES OF TRADE, POLITICAL AND OTHER RELATIONSHIPS THAT GO BACK TO THE EARLIEST DAYS OF THE BILATERAL REALTIONSHIP. AS IN ALL TWO-SIDED ASSOCIATIONS, BETWEEN INDIVIDUALS, GROUPS OR WHATEVER, THOSE INVOLVING NATIONS HAVE THEIR UPS AND DOWNS, THEIR APPARENT INCONSISTENCIES, AND THEIR MOMENTS OF CRISIS. THE WISE
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OBSERVER PAYS ATTENTION TO THE OVERALL DIRECTION OF THE RELATIONSHIP, RATHER THAN DAY-TO-DAY OCCURRENCES; TO THE TREND, INSTEAD OF THE MOMENTARY DISLOCATIONS.

A SECOND POINT TO REMEMBER IS THAT TWO NATIONS, AGAIN LIKE INDIVIDUALS, DO NOT INTERACT DEVOID OF INFLUENCE FROM THIRD PARTIES AND THE OUTSIDE WORLD. WHILE THE NATURE OF THE U.S. - EL SALVADOR RELATIONSHIP CAN BE EXAMINED IN AND OF ITSELF, WE MUST KEEP IN MIND THAT BOTH HAVE OTHER COMMITMENTS, OTHER RELATIONSHIPS. NOT ONLY DO BOTH PARTICIPATE IN A MULTITUDE OF COUNTRY-TO-COUNTRY RELATIONSHIPS, BOTH ALSO BELONG TO MULTILATERAL BODIES - THE UN, OAS, THE INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS, AND SO FORTH - WITHIN WHICH THEY REACT WITH EACH OTHER, AND WITH THIRD PARTIES. EACH HAS A WEB OF COMMITMENTS WITHIN THESE ASSOCIATIONS.

TURNING TO THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND EL

SALVADOR, AND TRYING TO EXAMINE IT WITH THESE THOUGHTS
IN MIND - LET'S FIRST LOOK AT THE BROAD CONTINUUM THROUGH
TIME RATHER THAN THE THIN SLICE OF THE MOMENT.

I FIRMLY BELIEVE THAT MOST OBSERVERS WOULD DESCRIBE
THE HISTORICAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OUR TWO NATIONS
AS AN EXCEPTIONALLY FAVORABLE, TROUBLE-FREE ASSOCIATION.
IF ONLY ON THE BASIS OF PERSONAL EXPERIENCE, I WOULD
BE WILLING TO BET THAT MOST IN THIS AUDIENCE,
NORTH AMERICANS WHO FOR ONE REASON OR ANOTHER CHOOSE
TO LIVE IN EL SALVADOR, AGREE WITH A CONCLUSION I
HAVE REACHED AFTER EIGHT MONTHS LIVING AND WORKING
HERE. BEFORE BECOMING AN AMBASSADOR, I HAD VISITED
MANY COUNTRIES OUTSIDE THE UNITED STATES, INCLUDING
MOST OF THOSE IN LATIN AMERICA. I SAY WITHOUT
HESITATION THAT I HAVE FELT MORE AT EASE, LESS
CONSCIOUS OF MY GRINGONESS, MORE WELCOME AND ACCEPTED
AS A NORTH AMERICAN HERE IN EL SALVADOR THAN IN ANY
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OF THE MANY OTHER PLACES I HAVE VISITED.

THERE ARE GOOD REASONS THIS IS SO - WHY THE UNITED STATES,
ONE OF THE LARGEST AND MOST POWERFUL NATIONS IN THE
WORLD, AND EL SALVADOR, ONE OF THE SMALLEST, SHOULD
HAVE A TRADITION OF MUTUAL RESPECT AND FRIENDSHIP, A
RELATIONSHIP ALMOST UNIQUE IN A WORLD DIVIDED INTO
DEVELOPED-UNDERDEVELOPED, NORTH-SOUTH, INDUSTRIALIZED
VS. NON-INDUSTRIALIZED CAMPS. ONE REASON IS THAT
OUR NATIONS HAVE AN ALMOST UNBLEMISHED PAST, AN
ALMOST TOTAL ABSENCE OF SERIOUS PROBLEMS OR REASONS
TO BE MAD AT EACH OTHER. LUCKILY, THE MARINES NEVER
LANDED HERE,
AS IN NICARAGUA AND THE CARIBBEAN. OUR
HAS AN AMERICAN COMPANY DOMINATED AN IMPORTANT
SECTOR OF THE ECONOMY, AS THE UNITED FRUIT DID FOR
MANY YEARS IN HONDURAS AND THE OIL COMPANIES DID
IN MEXICO IN THE EARLY PART OF THE CENTURY. THE
SPECTER OF THE YANKEE IMPERIALISM NEVER
CAUGHT HOLD IN EL SALVADOR. WE HAVE HAD NO MAJOR
QUARRELS OVER THE EXPROPRIATION OF US FIRMS, AS IN
PERU, CUBA AND A NUMBER OF OTHER LATIN AMERICAN
COUNTRIES. WE HAVE NOT HAD A WILLIAM WALKER COME IN,
AS NICARAGUA AND COSTA RICA DID, TO TAKE OVER.

ANOTHER FACTOR THAT HAS ENHANCED RELATIONS BETWEEN
OUR TWO COUNTRIES HAS BEEN A CONSTANT MOVEMENT OF PEOPLE
BACK AND FORTH. A GREAT MANY SALVADORANS KNOW THE
UNITED STATES, NOT THROUGH THE FILTER AND MAGIC OF
HOLLYWOOD AND TV, BUT FROM PERSONAL EXPERIENCE. I AM

CONSTANTLY AMAZED AT THE NUMBERS I MEET, FROM VARIED

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BACKGROUNDS AND LEVELS OF SOCIETY, WHO HAVE SPENT
YEARS IN THE STATES, AND RETURNED. IT HAS BEEN A
TRADITION FOR MANY YEARS FOR SALVADORAN CHILDREN TO
BE SENT TO SCHOOL IN THE UNITED STATES. OTHER
FAMILIES TAKE THEIR VACATIONS THERE. I HAVE
MET
SALVADORANS WHO CAN TALK FIRSTHAND OF HOW SAN
FRANCISCO WAS BEFORE THE 1906 EARTHQUAKE, BECAUSE
THEIR PARENTS SENT THEM NORP EVEN IN THOSE DAYS.
THIS MOVEMENT OF PEOPLE CANNOT BE EXPLAINED SOLELY
ON THE BASIS OF PROXIMITY, OR THE FACT THAT YOU CAN
GET THERE TODAY BY A RELATIVELY SHORT OVERLAND DRIVE.
NOR CAN THE MAGNET OF GREATER OPPORTUNITY FULLY
ACCOUNT FOR IT. MANY RETURN BECAUSE THEY
PREFER LIFE HERE. I WOULD LIKE TO BELIEVE THAT THE
REASON LIES ELSEWHERE. I SUGGEST THAT ONE FACTOR
MIGHT BE AN AFFINITY BETWEEN A TYPICAL SALVADORN
AND HIS NORTH AMERICAN COUNTERPART. I SEE PART OF
THE EXPLANATION IN THE INTRINSIC OPENNESS AND
DECENCY OF THE PEOPLE OF EL SALVADOR. THEY WORK
HARD, THEY ARE COMPETITIVE, AND THEY CAN RELAX AND
PLAY HARD. ALL OF THIS, I WOULD SUGGEST, FINDS
RECEIPTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES.

THIS TRADITION OF MUTUAL FRIENDLINESS AND OPENNESS,
STRETCHING BACK IN TIME, IS THE CORNERSTONE OF THE
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BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP, THE OVERALL TREND THAT I EARLIER MENTIONED WAS OF SUCH IMPORTANCE. THIS IS WHAT WAS BEING REFERRED TO IN WASHINGTON WHEN I WAS BRIEFED BEFORE COMING HERE. "NOTHING TO WORRY ABOUT, LOZANO, THINGS ARE TRANQUIL THERE AND ALWAYS HAVE BEEN" THE FACT THAT I WAS A NORTH AMERICAN OF LATIN ORIGIN SEEMED TO ADD TO THE PROSPECTS FOR THE PATTERN TO CONTINUE, UNINTERRUPTED, AS BEFORE.

NOW I WILL TURN TO THE PRESENT. IN THE PAST SIX MONTHS, DURING THE VERY PERIOD WHEN WE HAVE BOTH BEEN INVOLVED IN THE CONFUSION OF CHANGING LEADERSHIPS, A NUMBER OF PROBLEMS HAVE ARISEN TO CHALLENGE US. THE ACCUMULATION OF THESE IRRITANTS, AND THE ACTIONS AND REACTIONS OF BOTH PARTIES IN RESPONSE TO THEM HAVE GENERATED MUTUAL PERCEPTIONS AND MISPERCEPTIONS OF INTENTIONS AND MOTIVES. IN ITS TOTALITY, THIS SERIES OF INCIDENTS HAS PRODUCED A TENSION, A STRAIN - WHATEVER YOU MIGHT WANT TO CALL IT - IN THE GOVERNMENT-TO-GOVERNMENT RELATIONSHIP. I STRESS THIS LATTER POINT, SINCE, AS FAR AS I CAN JUDGE, THE PEOPLE-TO-PEOPLE FEELING REMAINS AS BEFORE.

WHAT ARE THESE ISSUES, AND WHY DID THEY PRODUCE FRICTION? SOME ARE DERIVATIVE FROM THE FACT THAT EL SALVADOR WAS GOING THROUGH ITS ELECTORAL PROCESS. THAT ALONE INSURED INTEREST IN WASHINGTON, IF ONLY BECAUSE POLITICAL ANALYSTS WERE LOOKING FOR ALL THE CLUES THEY COULD FIND AS TO WHAT THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION'S LATIN AMERICAN POLICY WOULD BE. THE SALVADORAN ELECTIONS WERE TO BE THE FIRST IN THE HEMISPHERE AFTER THE NEW PRESIDENT'S INAUGURATION.

OUR CONGRESS BECAME INTERESTED, FOR VARIOUS REASONS. FIRST, THERE WAS ITS MANDATED INTEREST. LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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THE FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT, THE PORTION OF U.S. LAW THAT PROVIDES THE CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH AMERICAN TAXPAYERS' DOLLARS ARE USED TO PROVIDE MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO SOME 82 COUNTRIES AROUND THE WORLD, CONTAINS A MOST SPECIFIC PROHIBITION - THE U.S. GOVERNMENT SHALL PROVIDE NO MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO THOSE COUNTRIES WHICH ENGAGE IN GROSS, CONSISTENT PATTERNS OF VIOLATION OF UNIVERSALLY RECOGNIZED HUMAN RIGHTS. WHEN THIS LAW WAS PASSED, THE CONGRESS MADE IT ABUNDANTLY CLEAR THAT IT WAS NOT INTERESTED IN

DELVING INTO THE STATE OF HUMAN RIGHTS OBSERVANCE IN OTHER COUNTRIES FOR ANY REASON OTHER THAN TO DETERMINE WHICH NATIONS MET THE MANDATED QUALIFICATIONS FOR THE EXPENDITURE OF AMERICAN TAX DOLLARS. ALL RECEIPT COUNTRIES WERE MADE AWARE OF THIS CLAUSE IN THE FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT, AND ALL WERE AWARE OF THE IMPLICATION IT CARRIED - THAT THE CONGRESS, OR EVEN A PRIVATE CITIZEN, COULD ASK THE ADMINISTRATION IF COUNTRY X, Y OR Z QUALIFIED FOR ASSISTANCE UNDER THAT PROVISION OF THE ACT.

THAT WAS THE BASIS OF CONGRESSMAN FRASER'S AND CONGRESSMAN KOCH'S INTEREST IN EL SALVADOR, THE MOTIVE FOR THE FORMER'S HEARINGS. OTHER FACTORS ENTERED, WHICH ONLY CONFUSED THINGS. ONE WAS THAT SEVERAL SALVADORAN POLITICAL FIGURES, CLAIMING THEIR VOICES COULD NOT BE HEARD IN THEIR COUNTRY, SOUGHT OUT THE FORUMS OF WASHINGTON. NEWS OF THOSE VISITS REACHED HERE IN THE MIDST OF THE SUCCESSION PROCESS. RESULT, THE ISSUE OF U.S. "INTERVENTION" IN SALVADORAN POLITICS, CONSIDERABLY DISTORTED IN THE HEAR OF CAMPAIGN RHETORIC, BECAME A FACTOR IN THE ELECTION.

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SOME IN EL SALVADOR PERCEIVED THE NEWS FROM WASHINGTON AS EVIDENCE THAT THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT WAS TRYING TO INTERFERE IN THE LEADERSHIP SELECTION PROCESS, I.E., DOMESTIC AFFAIRS. THE QUESTION WAS ASKED, QUITE LEGITIMATELY I WOULD ADD, WHAT RIGHT DOES THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT OR ANY FOREIGNER HAVE TO MONITOR AND PASS JUDGMENT ON THE MANNER IN WHICH EL SALVADOR CONDUCTS ITS ELECTIONS?

A SECOND SOURCE OF MISUNDERSTANDING AND FRICTION AROSE FROM A TOTALLY DIFFERENT DIRECTION. THIS WAS A SLOWER PROCESS, AN ACCUMULATION OF MANY BITS AND PIECES RATHER THAN A SINGLE DRAMATIC EVENT. I MENTIONED EARLIER THAT ONE OF THE STRENGTHS OF OUR HISTORIC BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP WAS THAT LARGE NUMBERS OF SALVADORANS HAD VISITED THE UNITED STATES, IN ONE CAPACITY OR ANOTHER. I MENTIONED THAT THIS MOVEMENT OF PEOPLE HAS HAD A MOST POSITIVE EFFECT. THERE IS ANOTHER SIDE TO THAT COIN, HOWEVER, ONE THAT IS NOW BEGINNING TO HAVE NEGATIVE EFFECTS. THE UNITED STATES HAS DISCOVERED, SOMEWHAT TO OUR SURPRISE, THAT NOT ONLY SALVADORANS, BUT MILLIONS OF PEOPLE FROM MANY PARTS OR THE WORLD WANT TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE DISPARITY IN STANDARDS OF LIVING BETWEEN WHERE THEY WERE BORN AND THE UNITED STATES. ALMOST WITHOUT REALIZING IT, THE UNITED STATES HAS ATTRACTED LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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MILLIONS AND MILLIONS OF CITIZENS OF OTHER COUNTRIES WHO HAVE ARRIVED ON ITS SHORE, LOOKED AROUND AND DECIDED TO STAY. THE ONLY PROBLEM WAS THAT TO STAY THEY HAD TO DO SO ILLEGALLY. WE CAN ALL UNDERSTAND THE MOTIVES BEHIND SUCH DECISIONS. BUT WE CAN ALSO UNDERSTAND THE MOTIVES OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE WHEN, FINDING THEMSELVES FACING THE HIGHEST UNEMPLOYMENT RATES SINCE THE 1930S, DECIDED THAT SOMETHING HAD TO BE DONE TO STEM THE TIDE OF ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS. ONE ATTEMPT TO DO SOMETHING WAS A TIGHTENING IN OUR REGULATIONS WHICH GOVERN THE ISSUANCE OF TEMPORARY VISAS. THE REQUIREMENTS HAVE BEEN MADE MORE STRINGENT, THE CONSULAR OFFICERS MANDATED TO ASK FOR GREATER PROOF THAT THE INTENDING TOURIST OR STUDENT DOES NOT PLAN TO ABANDON HIS FOREIGN DOMICILE AND REMAIN ILLEGALLY IN THE UNITED STATES.

SUCH NEW REQUIREMENTS MEAN THAT A CERTAIN PERCENTAGE OF APPLICANTS WHO MIGHT HAVE HAD LITTLE TROUBLE OBTAINING A VISA IN THE PAST NOW MUST BE ASKED FOR

MORE PROOFS. IT IMPLIES THAT APPLICANTS WILL BE ASKED QUESTIONS THAT WEREN'T USUALLY ASKED BEFORE. IT MEANS LONGER VISA LINES, SHORTER INTERVIEWS AND MORE PEOPLE LEAVING THE EMBASSY DISAPPOINTED. I AM SURE YOU ARE AWARE OF THE END PRODUCT OF ALL THIS. I AM CERTAIN THAT MOST, IF NOT ALL OF YOU, HAVE HAD THE EXPERIENCE I HAVE ALMOST DAILY - THAT IS, A FRIEND EXPLAINING HOW POORLY THEY, OR A FRIEND OR RELATIVE, BELIEVE THEY HAVE BEEN TREATED IN THE

EMBASSY CONSULAR SECTION.

MANY SALVADORANS, AND AMERICAN FRIENDS OF THEIRS,
HAVE ASKED SUCH QUESTIONS AS - IS THE AMERICAN
GOVERNMENT TREATING VISA APPLICANTS DIFFERENTLY
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BECAUSE ITS POLICY TOWARDS EL SALVADOR HAS CHANGED?
OR; DOESN'T THE U.S. WANT SALVADORANS TO TRAVEL AND
VISIT AS THEY DID IN THE PAST? THE SIMPLE AND
HONEST ANSWER TO SUCH QUESTIONS IS THAT WHAT IS
HAPPENING HERE IS HAPPENING, TO A GREATER OR LESSER
EXTENT, IN ALL OTHER COUNTRIES WHERE OUR VISAS ARE
ISSUED. IN AN ATTEMPT TO STEM THE FLOW OF ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS,
WE HAVE UNFORTUNATELY HAD TO PLACE BURDENS ON THOSE
WHO GENUINELY WANT TO TOUR OR STUDY IN THE STATES. I
AM AWARE, AS I ASSUME EVERYONE IN THIS ROOM IS THAT
MAKING IT HARDER TO OBTAIN NON-IMMIGRANT VISAS IS FAR
FROM A SOLUTION TO THE ILLEGAL IMMIGRANT PROBLEM. IT IS TOO
EASY, ESPECIALLY FROM EL SALVADOR, TO TRAVEL OVERLAND
AND ENTER WITHOUT DOCUMENTS. IT MIGHT EVEN BE
ARGUED THAT DENYING LEGAL DOCUMENTATION ONLY DRIVES
MORE PEOPLE INTO THE HANDS OF THE COYOTES WHO CRUELLY
EXPLOIT THEIR COUNTRYMEN'S ASPIRATIONS FOR A BETTER
LIFE. WHILE THIS MIGHT OR MIGHT NOT BE TRUE, THE
FACT REMAINS THAT THE U.S. GOVERNMENT IS TRYING TO
GET A HANDLE ON AN EXTREMELY DIFFICULT AND COMPLEX
PROBLEM. THE VISA ISSUANCE PROCESS IS ONE TOOL. IT
IS WORLDWIDE IN APPLICATION. LIKE ALL MEDICINES,
ESPECIALLY WHEN FIRST ADMINISTERED, THIS ONE HAS HAD
UNFORESEEN AND UNWANTED SIDE EFFECTS. ONE IS THE
SO-CALLED "CONSULATE PROBLEM", THE INTERPRETATION
MANY HAVE VOICED THAT "SOMETHING HAS CHANGED, THE
US DOESN'T WANT SALVADORANS TO VISIT ANYMORE". I
ASSURE YOU, THAT IS NOT THE CASE.

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THE LAST ISSUE I WANT TO MENTION AS CONTRIBUTING TO THE PRESENT STATE OF THE BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP IS AS DISTINCT AND SEPARATE FROM THE FIRST TWO, AS THEY WERE FROM EACH OTHER. I SAY THIS BECAUSE, AS I MENTIONED EARLIER, ONE OF THE UNFORTUNATE ASPECTS OF THE LAST SIX MONTHS HAS BEEN THAT SO MANY THINGS HAPPENED AT ONCE. THE JUXTAPOSITION OF THESE SEPARATE PROBLEMS - THE LOCAL ELECTION AND U.S. CONGRESSIONAL COMMENTS THEREON, THE PERCEIVED NEW ATTITUDE OF THE VISA ISSUING PROCESS, AND THIS LAST ISSUE - PRODUCED A BLUE IN MANY OBSERVERS' MINDS. INSTEAD OF A SERIES OF INDIVIDUAL PROBLEMS, EVERYTHING WAS PUT TOGETHER AND PERCEIVED AS A SINGLE OVERALL PLAN.

THIS LAST PROBLEM IS PERHAPS THE MOST MISUNDERSTOOD OF ALL, PARTIALLY BECAUSE WHAT PRESS STORIES APPEARED HAVE BEEN SO CONTRADICTORY. I AM SPEAKING OF THE DISAPPEARANCE OF AN AMERICAN CITIZEN WHO ENTERED EL SALVADOR LATE LAST SUMMER. HIS NAME WAS RONALD JAMES RICHARDSON, ALTHOUGH HE ALSO USED OTHER NAMES SUCH AS PAUL ROBERTS AND ARYL WENZELL. HOW HE GOT HERE, RELATIVELY UNDOCUMENTED, AND HIS MOTIVE FOR ENTERING, TO OFFER HIS SERVICES AS A MERCENARY ARE UNIMPORTANT. HE WAS ISSUED A SALVADORAN TOURIST CARD, AND HE ENTERED AS AN AMERICAN CITIZEN. THE EMBASSY BECAME AWARE OF HIS PRESENCE ONLY WHEN HE GOT INTO

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DIFFICULTY WITH THE LOCAL POLICE AND IMMIGRATION AUTHORITIES.

THE EMBASSY WAS REQUESTED TO DOCUMENT RICHARDSON WITH AN AMERICAN PASSPORT SO THAT HE COULD BE DEPORTED AS AN UNDESIRABLE. THE PROBLEM WAS THAT THE MAN DID NOT COOPERATE IN THIS EFFORT. HE GAVE SO MANY STORIES OF WHO HE WAS, WHERE HE CAME FROM, AND THE LIKE, THAT OUR CONSULATE HAD NO CHOICE BUT TO SEEK PROOF ELSEWHERE OF HIS BONAFIDES AS AN AMERICAN CITIZEN. THAT TOOK TIME AND INVOLVED SENDING HIS FINGERPRINTS TO WASHINGTON. IN LATE SEPTEMBER OF LAST YEAR, WE WERE INFORMED THROUGH NORMAL IMMIGRATION CHANNELS THAT THE EMBASSY COULD FORGET ABOUT THE DETAINED MAN BECAUSE RICHARDSON, IN THE NAME OF ROBERTS, HAD BEEN

DEPORTED INTO GUATEMALA AS A CANADIAN CITIZEN. THAT WAS THE END OF IT. OTHER AMERICANS HAVE BEEN DEPORTED IN THIS MANNER, AND NO ONE QUESTIONS THE RIGHTS OF A COUNTRY TO EXPEL FOREIGNERS WHO ARE JUDGED TO BE UNDESIRABLE.

IN OCTOBER A DISTURBING STORY REACHED THE EMBASSY. IT CAME FROM A RELIABLE SOURCE, AND INDICATED THAT ROBERTS-RICHARDSON - WHOM WE NOW KNEW WAS AN AMERICAN CITIZEN - HAD NOT BEEN DEPORTED INTO GUATEMALA OR ANYPLACE ELSE. THE STORY WAS THAT HE WAS DEAD. THE MONTHS OF OCTOBER AND NOVEMBER WERE SPENT TRYING TO LOCATE SOME TRACE OF THE MISSING AMERICAN. THE U.S. GOVERNMENT CHECKED GUATEMALAN IMMIGRATION RECORDS, AND OTHER SOURCES THERE. NO AMERICAN WITH ANY OF THOSE NAMES HAD ENTERED GUATEMALA. SIMILAR INVESTIGATIONS IN THE NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES, AS WELL AS MEXICO, PANAMA AND THE UNITED STATES, HAD PRODUCED THE SAME NEGATIVE RESULTS. SINCE ONE OF THE FUNDAMENTAL MISSIONS OF AN AMERICAN EMBASSY IS THE PROTECTION AND WELFARE OF U.S. CITIZENS TRAVELING ABROAD, I TOOK THE MATTER UP DIRECTLY WITH THE PRESIDENT AND FOREIGN MINISTER. THAT OCCURRED LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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IN THE FIRST WEEK OF DECEMBER 1976. WE WERE PROMISED A TOTAL INVESTIGATION TO DETERMINE THIS MISSING MAN'S FATE. TO THIS DAY, FOUR MONTHS LATER, WE HAVE NOT RECEIVED A BELIEVABLE EXPLANATION OF WHAT HAPPENED TO THAT AMERICAN CITIZEN IN THE CUSTODY OF THE GOVERNMENT OF EL SALVADOR. THAT IS UNSATISFACTORY. YOU WILL HEAR STORIES THAT RICHARDSON WAS UNWORTHY OF ALL THIS ATTENTION, THAT HE WAS A "DRIFTER", A "CRIMINAL". THE MAN DID HAVE A MINOR RECORD. YOU WILL ALSO BE TOLD BY SOME THAT MYSTERIOUS DISAPPEARANCES HAPPEN ALL THE TIME, IN ALL COUNTRIES. ISN'T THE UNITED STATES THE MURDER CAPITAL OF THE WORLD?, SOME ASK. THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT'S ANSWER TO SUCH QUESTIONS IS THAT AN AMERICAN CITIZEN DISAPPEARED WHILE IN THE CUSTODY OF ANOTHER NATION'S AUTHORITIES. HIS PAST IS OF NO IMPORTANCE IN HIS STATUS AS A CITIZEN. MY GOVERNMENT CANNOT ACCEPT AN ANALOGY BETWEEN COMMON CRIME AND A DISAPPEARANCE SUCH AS THIS, A PERSON WHO VANISHES WHILE UNDER THE DETENTION OF A GOVERNMENT AGENCY.

I AM AFRAID THAT UNTIL THIS MATTER IS RESOLVED, WHATEVER STRAIN RESULTS FROM THIS AND OTHER MATTERS WILL NOT DISSIPATE.

WITH THE INSTANTANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS NETWORK THAT

WE HAVE IN TODAY'S WORLD, PEOPLES QUICKLY BECOME
AWARE OF WHAT IS HAPPENING IN EACH OTHERS COUNTRIES.

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-----191939Z 011895 /45

O 191730Z APR 77
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4039

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IF ONLY FOR THAT REASON, GOVERNMENTS CANNOT LOOK THE
OTHER WAY AND PRETEND CERTAIN UNPLEASANTNESS
DIDN'T OCCUR. IF GOVERNMENTS DON'T EXPLAIN TRUTHFULLY WHAT
TAKES PLACE, THE GOOD WITH THE BAD, HE FIELD IS
ABDICATED TO THOSE WHO USE THE DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION
FOR THEIR OWN NARROWER ENDS. THESE PEOPLE
THRIVE IN AN ATMOSPHERE OF DOUBT, AMBIVALENCE AND
RUMOR. AS WE IN THE UNITED STATES LEARNED SO RECENTLY
WITH WATERGATE, STATE SECRETS AND CONSPIRACIES WILL
EVENTUALLY BE REVEALED. THE QUESTION IS WHETHER THE VERSION
THAT A NATION'S PEOPLE BELIEVE IS THE ONE OF ITS GOVERNMENT,
OR OF OTHERS. THE ONLY WAY A REGIME CAN ASSURE THAT IT WILL BE
BELIEVED WHEN IT MUST BE IS TO CONSISTENTLY AND OPENLY INFORM ITS
CITIZENS OF ITS ACTIONS, ITS AIMS, AND WHAT IS MOST DIFFICULT,
ITS ERRORS.

I HAVE NOW GONE OVER THREE OF THE PROBLEMS OUR
GOVERNMENTS HAVE FACED IN THE LAST SIX MONTHS. YOU
MIGHT STILL QUESTION THE RIGHT OF THE UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT TO INVOLVE ITSELF IN SALVADORAN AFFAIRS, ESPECIALLY
TO QUESTION THE HOST GOVERNMENT SO INSISTENTLY IN THE RICHARDSON
MATTER. IF WOULD HOPE THAT EVERYONE, AT LEAST IN THIS AUDIENCE,
WOULD UNDERSTAND THE IMPORTANCE MY GOVERNMENT PLACES ON THE
PROTECTION OF ITS CITIZENS RIGHTS AND WELL-BEING.
ON THE BROADER ISSUE, YOU MIGHT ASK IF OUR CONGRESS HAS THE
RIGHT TO PRY INTO THE PURELY INTERNAL MATTER
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OF HOW ONE COUNTRY TREATS ITS OWN CITIZENS AND PROTECTS THEIR HUMAN RIGHTS. I CAN ONLY REFER YOU TO PRESIDENT CARTER'S MARCH 18 SPEECH TO THE UNITED NATIONS. IN THAT KEY FOREIGN POLICY ADDRESS, OUR PRESIDENT CLEARLY DECLARED HIS FIRM BELIEF THAT:

"THE SEARCH FOR PEACE AND JUSTICE ALSO SIGNIFIES RESPECT FOR HUMAN DIGNITY. ALL THOSE WHO SIGNED THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER PROMISED EACH OTHER TO PURSUE AND RESPECT BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS. CONSEQUENTLY, NO MEMBER OF THE UNITED NATIONS CAN ALLEGE THAT THE MISTREATMENT OF ITS CITIZENS IS STRICTLY AN INTERNAL AFFAIR. EQUALLY, NO MEMBER CAN AVOID THE FULFILLMENT OF ITS OBLIGATIONS TO INVESTIGATE AND CALL ATTENTION TO TORTURE OR UNJUST DEPRIVATION OF LIBERTY IN ANY PART OF THE WORLD."

BRINGING THE PRESIDENT'S ARGUMENT TO THE CASE WE ARE DISCUSSING, THE UNITED STATES AND EL SALVADOR HAVE SIGNED A NUMBER OF SOLEMN INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS, NOT ONLY IN THE UNITED NATIONS BUT IN THE OAS, AND OTHER MULTILATERAL BODIES. WE HAVE MADE SERIOUS COMMITMENTS TO EACH OTHER, AND TO THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THESE BODIES, INCLUDING PROMISES DEALING WITH HUMAN RIGHTS. IF INTERNATIONAL TREATIES MEAN ANYTHING, THEY IMPLY THAT A SIGNATOR CAN QUESTION ANY MEMBER ABOUT ITS COMPLIANCE WITH THEIR MUTUAL COMMITMENTS. THIS IS WHAT PRESIDENT CARTER STATED TO THE UNITED NATIONS, WHAT THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES BELIEVES AND HAS INCORPORATED INTO AMERICAN LAW, AND WHAT I FIRMLY BELIEVE.

THE QUESTION REMAINS, WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE? I'M NOT SURE I CAN ANSWER WITH ANY CERTAINTY. LET ME RETURN TO MY EARLIER DESCRIPTION OF THE HISTORICAL FRIENDSHIP THAT EXISTS BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES. RATHER THAN DESCRIBING WHAT WE HAVE EXAMINED TODAY AS A SINGLE SLICE OF A CONTINUUM, PERHAPS IT WOULD LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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BE MORE ACCURATE TO CHARACTERIZE THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES AS RESEMBLING A COMPLICATED SPIDER'S WEB, AN INTRICATE PATTERN OF SEPARATE THREADS INTERCONNECTED AT MANY POINTS, AT FIRST GLANCE EXTREMELY DELICATE AND FRAGILE, BUT QUITE DURABLE WHEN EXAMINED CLOSELY. WITHOUT CARRYING THE ANALOGY TO EXTREMES, I WOULD SUGGEST THAT ASSOCIATIONS BETWEEN COUNTRIES HAVE MANY OF THESE CHARACTERISTICS. THE COMPLEXITIES, THE INTERDEPENDENCE OF THE MULTITUDE OF SEPARATE STRANDS AND SO FORTH.

I WOULD ALSO SUGGEST THAT WHAT HAS HAPPENED IS THAT
OUR WEB OF RELATIONS WITH EL SALVADOR HAS BEEN HIT
BY A NUMBER OF SEPARATE, BUT COMPLIMENTARY BLOWS IN
RECENT MONTHS. WHILE ABLE TO WITHSTAND ANY ONE
INDIVIDUALLY, THE WEB HAS NOT HAD A CHANCE TO STOP
VIBRATING AND HAVE THE SAMAGE REPAIRED BEFORE
ANOTHER BLOW HIT ON ANOTHER STRAND. THE DAMAGE IS THERE.
BUT SO TOO IS THE ORIGINAL STRENGTH OF THE WEB WHAT WE
HAVE TO DO IS PRAY THAT NO MORE BLOWS WILL COMPLICATE
THE REPAIR PROCESS, AND GET TO WORK ON THE DAMAGE
ALREADY INFLICTED.

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FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
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WE HAVE TO UNTANGLE THE STRANDS
AND EXAMINE THEM ONE BY ONE. A PROBLEM WITH THIS ANALOGY IS
THAT WE DON'T HAVE A SINGLE SPIDER WHO KNOWS
THE TOTAL DESIGN. RATHER WE HAVE AT LEAST
TWO ARCHITECTS, EACH WITH HIS OWN IDEA OF WHAT THE FINAL WEB
SHOULD LOOK LIKE, AND A MULTITUDE OF OBSERVERS ONLY
TOO HAPPY TO OFFER THEIR ADVICE.

I CAN ONLY SUGGEST, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, THAT WE GET
BACK TO OUR RESPECTIVE PARTS OF THE WEB AND
START WORKING.
THANK YOU.
UNQUOTE
LOZANO

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Message Attributes

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